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REMARKS ON Bp BURNET'S HISTORY Of his OWN TIME.

CONTAINING,

A Detection of the Partiality, Absurdity, and Falsity of it, in many Particulars.

WITH

A Vindication of the Family of the STUARTS, and the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, that adhered to them, from the injurious Aspersions cast upon them by that Writer.

By a TRUE BRITON.

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И ОРДЕНЫ
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HISTORICAL

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REMARKS ON Bp. BURNET's HISTORY.



HENSOEVER I take into my Hands a Book which bears the Title of an History, I hope to meet with something in it that will make me a Debtor to the Author, for many useful Instructions and Informations, for which I should pay a lasting Veneration and Esteem to his Memory.

A faithful Historian is of no Age or Nation, much less is he of any Party; he is to have no Affections to any particular Persons, but to relate all Passages just as they are evil or good in themselves. He must

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neither praise out of a Vein of Flattery, nor detract out of a Spirit of Malice. He is to shew how a Nation has passed from one Government to an other, and while he is doing this, he is to relate with the strictest and religious Truth all and every Circumstance, and to omit not so much as one Particular that may help to paint out clearly to our Sight the very Souls (as I may say) of the principal Actors, and shew us all the Causes of each several great Event in the clearest and most conspicuous Light.

There is no Work that can be of so great an Importance to the Sons of Men, as an History of what their Fore-fathers did, delivered down to them with so much Perspicuity, Fidelity and Exactitude. There cannot be greater Incentives to Virtue than Narrations of this Sort; they do not only excite within us a laudable Emulation of following those, who have grown Great by surmounting the Oppositions of wicked and cruel Men, and by adhering to the severest Rules of Christian Morality and Honour; no, they do still more: They turn even the criminal Actions and Characters of the wicked Great to the Instruction of the Good; and there is not one single Incident, not one Page, Passage, or even Period, but what may be perused by a proper Reader with singular Profit and abundant Satisfaction.

No one is more capable of observing all these Rules, than a Person who writes the History of his own Times; and if he does observe them, the Value that will be due to his Memory from Posterity, is hardly to be described. But if we take a View of the Historians through all the different Ages of recorded Time, it is the Misfortune to, as well as the Infirmitiy of Human Nature, that we shall meet but with very few indeed, that are wholly exempt from falling into (I will not say) venial Errors, but from committing gross, enormous, and capital Faults. The late Archbishop of *Cambray* accurately and justly remarks, that if we were to take such a general Review of the Writers of History, at such different Periods of Time as I have mentioned, and form a true Judgment of them, we might observe that an *excellent Historian* is perhaps more rarely found, than even a *great Poet*. And I think I may with great Truth add to this great Man's Observation, this further Remark of my own, that History, how widely soever it differs in other Points, is in this one Particular like Poetry, as *Horace* describes it, that it admits no Medium, but is either good to the sublimest Degree, or else is to the lowest Degree despicably ill.

As there is not any Applause to be given that is equal to the Merits of a good Historian, so there is no Name to be invented

vented that is bad enough for a false one. There are many Men, who had rather die a thousand Deaths, than once have the Reputation of being Liars ; and yet that piquing Appellation is due to those Men, who abandon themselves to a Custom of uttering known Untruths in *private Conversation*. Now I must say with Dr. Burnet, that I reckon a *Lie in History to be as much a greater Sin than a Lie in common Discourse*; as the one is like to be more lasting and more generally known than the other.

There is no-body more capable of avoiding these Untruths, than a Person who writes the History of his own Times ; and therefore no one is so inexcusable as such a Person, when he appears evidently guilty of them. A Person, who tells me first, that he was an Eye-witness of almost all that he relates ; who tells me that he sets down nothing with his Pen concerning either Men or Things, of which he has not had a clear and certain Knowledge, entices and persuades me to place my firm Confidence in what he says ; and if after that, comparing him with other Authors of those Times, who were likewise Eye-witnesses of all the several Passages he speaks of, whose Judgment, Candour, Sincerity, Impartiality and Honour, were never called in Question ; if I find, I say, Numbers of such great Men as these, frequently and flatly affirming in many and many Points the ve-

ry contrary and opposite, of what he asserts to be true, what can I think, but that he has endeavoured to deceive me? And what Detestation and Aversion must I naturally have for a Man that I have detected acting deceitfully with me in such important Points? How must I abhor him, who first courts my Credit and Esteem, by making all the seeming Professions of Sincerity and Truth, and by entering as it were his Protest against Falshood; when I come at last to find by undeniable Testimonials, that he has done all this only to palliate and hide the Truth from my Eyes, which I sought after with Ardour, and to palm Falshoods upon me, which I strove industriously to shun; when I find him the cruel Guide that puts me in the wrong Path, who imposes upon me Misinformations, where he knows I long to be rightly inform'd; who misleads my Judgment and Understanding in the Dark; and who by double dealing betrays to Errors the Affections of a Heart, that would be in Love with Simplicity and Truth, and courts their Acquaintance.

It was with a perfect Prepossession of Mind in Favour of the learned Author, that I first dipt into the famed Dr. Burnet's History of his own Times.

I read the Preface of it over and over, I lik'd it, I approv'd it, I lov'd it; my Heart was set upon it so that I continu'd reading

reading it so often, that I could almost repeat it. I really honour'd the Prelate, who said so many good Things, and who had prepar'd me to learn the Truth of Affairs relating to my own Country, with as great Satisfaction as I could wish. I well remember, I felt an inward Joy, arising from the Thought ; that a Bishop, living to a good old Age in my Days, should have turn'd an Historian upon those very Points, about which I had for a long Time covet'd to be set right : And here I must appeal to the sincere Part of Mankind, whether, if they ever hop'd to discover Truth from any Person upon Earth, they would not conceive the strongest Hopes of it, from so great and learned a Bishop of the Church *England* ; when he address'd them so solemnly (as he does in his Preface) after the following Manner.

He in the first Place, gives us to understand, that he had, when he was very young, a greater Knowledge of Affairs than is usual at that Age : The Reason which he assigns for it, is, that his Father, who had been engag'd in great Friendships with Men of both Sides, living then retir'd from all Business, educated him himself, and related to him the whole Series of all publick Affairs. He next assures us of his Father's eminent Probity, Piety, Impartiality, and Sincerity ; asserts he was the singular Instance in

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Scotland of a Man Note, who had never submitted to the new Form of Government set up there, from the Beginning to the End of the War, and yet (says the Bishop) he complain'd of the Errors of the King's Government, and of the Bishops of *Scotland*; and then declares, that it was upon that Foundation he first set out, to look into the secret Conduct of Affairs among us.

This is very good Account for an Historian to give us, in Order to work upon our Belief in what he delivers to us: But yet what the Bishop lays before us, depending upon the Truth of his Father's Relation, is but a small Part: He tells us many more Things upon greater Authorities, of most, he was himself Eye-Witness, as he here signifies.

' I fell (continues he) into great Acquaintance with several Persons, who either were or had been Ministers of State, from whom, when the Secret of Affairs was over, I study'd to know as many Particulars as I could draw from them. I saw a great deal more among the Papers of the Dukes of *Hamilton*, than was properly a Part of their Memoirs, or fit to be told at that Time.

' And now for above thirty Years, I have liv'd in such Intimacy with all, who have had the chief Conduct of Affairs, and have been so much trusted, and on so many important Occasions employ'd by them,

them, that I have been able to penetrate far into the true Secret of Councils and Designs.

When a Person has read thus far, he must be perfectly well satisfy'd with the Abilities of such an Author, to give him all the right Informations he could desire; provided he could be, likewise, as well satisfy'd with his Veracity as his Knowledge. To clear up that, the Bishop proceeds and says: ' I do solemnly say this to the World, and make my humble Appeal upon it to the great God of Truth, that I tell the Truth on all Occasions as fully and freely, as upon my best Inquiry I have been able to find it out.

' I have given the Characters of Men very impartially and copiously; for nothing guides one's Judgment more truly in a Relation of Matters of Fact, than the knowing the Principles and Tempers of the chief Actors.

' I look on the perfecting of this Work, and the carrying it on through the remaining Part of my Life, as the greatest Service I can do to God and to the World; and therefore I set upon it with Care and Caution: For I reckon a Lye in History, to be as much a greater Sin, than a Lye in common Discourse, as the one is likely to be more lasting and more generally known than the other. And now, O my God, the God of my Life and of all my

' Mercies;

‘ Mercies; I offer this Work to thee, to
‘ whose Honour it is chiefly intended;
‘ that thereby, I may awaken the World
‘ to just Reflections on their own Errors
‘ and Follies, and call on them to acknow-
‘ ledge thy Providence, to adore it, and
‘ ever to depend on it.

Thus far the Bishop. — Now upon the Whole, I must make over again this my Appeal to Mankind; whether, when they consider the Bishop's so solemn Appeal to God, they will not be induc'd to place a firm Confidence in all he says, unless the strongest, the plainest, and most positive Evidence, against which, common Reason is not able to shut it's Eyes, be brought to convince them, where, and wherein such a pious, sincere, and Truth-telling Historian, may have happen'd to make an unlucky Mistake, and by some strange Misfortune, to have directly contradicted plain, manifest, and known Truths.

For my own Part, I must confess that this Preface had as powerful an Effect upon me, as any Thing that I remember ever to have read in my whole Life. I reflected still farther, that the Bishop intended this as a posthumous Work, and therefore I look'd on it, as a Kind of Dying-Speech ; in which an Appeal to God about the Truth continu'd in it, is, methinks, the most strong and genuine kind of Oath that can be

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taken, or that can enforce the Belief of any Reader.

Thus the Great Man, the Learned Man, and the Holy Bishop, add mighty Weight and Authority to the Historian. One thinks one sees these powerful and persuasive Words in *VERBO SACERDOTIS*, added to the End of every important Period, and demanding our Credit ; and when one is gone so far in an Author's Interest, one resolves (as it were) to swallow with an implicit Faith, whatsoever he shall be pleased to say, and comes ready prepared to receive every solemn Assertion of such an Author with no less Veneration than if it were some divine Oracle. With these Thoughts I began to read the History I am discoursing upon : I judged, indeed, that I enter'd upon this Favourite Author of mine (whom his Introduction had made so) with too much Partiality as a Reader, to entertain such an Opinion of him, before I had thoroughly read him. But I presently corrected this Judgment as erroneous, and soon grew persuaded that this was no Fault in me, and could not properly be called Partiality, because the very Reason of my being prejudiced in his Favour, consisted chiefly in this, that I expected from him the strictest Impartiality.

At the very opening of the first Book, which contains a summary Recapitulation of the Affairs of *Scotland*, both in Church and

and State, from the Beginning of the Troubles, to the Restoration of K. *CHARLES II.* 1660. I find him censuring Archbishop *Spotswood's History* in this Manner: ' This is the great Defect that runs thro' Archbishop *Spotswood's History*, where much of the rude Opposition that King (*James*) met with, particularly from the Assemblies of the Kirk, is set forth, but the true Ground of all the Jealousies they were possess'd with, is suppress'd.' This Charge of Incincerity, I thought, lay very heavy upon the Archbishop, especially since he is represented by other grave and authentick Historians, to have been a Person of a very different Character. I remember'd that the Lord *Clarendon* had given this *Scotch* Prelate the Character of a learned, wise, and pious Man, and of long Experience. This Reflection a little abated my before too forward Zeal for Bishop *Burnet*, and begat in me this Spirit of strict Impartiality, that I resolved in the Course of my Reading, to compare every doubtful Passage in him, with other Authors; and he himself put me upon this Care and Caution in my Reading, because since an Archbishop so honourably mention'd as *Spotswood* is by many Writers, was still not to be rely'd on, a Confidence could not be reasonably plac'd in the Word of Bishop *Burnet*, which I found, on Examination,

had been very exceptionable to many good and learned People.

Burnet makes King *James* the 1st, a very early Scholar in Dissimulation, and grown (as it were) a consummate Man in Hypocrisy, when but a Youth in Age ; and this Dissimulation of his, the Historian out of Measure exaggerates, endeavouring to conclude him to be in Heart a Papist, by an Argument which will by no Means hold good. The main Proof which he produces to support this Allegation in pag. 7, is very weak, and amounts to no more than this, that, while the Duke of *Guise* liv'd, King *James*, tho' then 23 Years old, would enter into no Treaty of Marriage, either with Papist or Protestant.

He carries this unsupported Suspicion so far, as to make one believe him very partial, and much prejudic'd against the King, where he says, the King himself was favouring Popery, notwithstanding he was perpetually writing against it.

The next invidious Insinuation is, that this Prince, when he came to the Crown of *England*, endeavour'd to set up Episcopacy in *Scotland* ; in which Realm, those that were the most learned among the Bishops, are represented, as strongly inclining to Popery.

The Misrepresentation that next follows upon this Head, is more odious, more grievous, and being built upon no true Foundation,

dation, is plainly calculated to calumniate that crown'd Head: It is in pag. 10. This Prince (says *Burnet*) had three Children: *Henry* the eldest is represented, there, as a very hopeful Prince, quite unlike his Father, feared by his Parent, but not loved by him; a zealous Protestant, averse to Popery; and then the Bishop drops an equivocal Hint, in order to signify that this Aversion is probable to have hasten'd his Death; which he afterwards pretty flatly affirms to have been compass'd by the poysoning Arts of the Earl of *Somerset*, who, it is certain, was a Favourite to King *James*. This is out of Measure a barbarous Way of calumniating and reviling Kings.

He likewise informs us, that after the Gunpowder Plot, this Prince was always afraid of the *Jesuits* — and now, which methinks is difficult to reconcile, he favours the Popish Religion out of Fear, not out of Inclination.

And again, in order to fix this Character upon him, it is said, From thence to his dying Day, he continu'd always writing and talking against Popery, but acting for it.

Thus far the Charge of Popery is maintain'd against King *James*, by Dr. *Burnet*: Now let us, on the other Hand, consider, how much more fairly it will appear, that he acted heartily upon Protestant Principles,

plies, if the same Matters of Fact that Dr. *Burnet* relates, join'd with some undeniable Facts related by others, were not misconstru'd and forc'd, but plac'd in their plain and natural Course, just as they follow'd one another.

King *James* appears to have known somewhat of the Art of Dissembling. While the Duke of *Guise* and *Henry the 3d of France* liv'd, he would neither marry a Protestant nor a Papist. However, no sooner is the Duke of *Guise* kill'd, and *Henry the 3d* murder'd, but he presently marry'd *Anne* a Daughter of *Denmark*. He was ever after under Queen *Elizabeth's* Management. Notwithstanding this, the English Minister *Walsingham* work'd one Sir *Richard Wigmore* into that King's Service, on purpose to be a Spy upon him, and endeavoured to infuse strong Jealousies of him into the Scots. The Sincerity that is due to History, demands of us to own, that, as the Situation of King *James's* Affairs then stood, especially if we consider what he plainly appear'd to be afterwards, that Prince was not more to be blamed for Disimulation, than *Walsingham* for an indirect Practice; who, upon no more than his Entertaining a bare Suspicion of that Prince's having some Tendency towards Popery, endeavoured to excite Jealousies and Animosities between him and his Subjects,

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However, that Prince was even with those *English*, who then dislik'd him, in Politicks, by the Means of *Bruce*, his Ambassador, who grew great with Queen *Elizabeth's* Secretary *Cecil*. He secretly got all the Great Men of *England* to sign an Instrument, that they would stand by his Right of Succession. As soon as he came to the Crown of *England*, that Prince, to shew that he was no Dissembler in Point of Religion, which he really and sincerely profess'd, endeavour'd to promote the Episcopal Church Government, even at a Time, when the Undertaking was sure to be attended with great Difficulties, insomuch that his Zeal in that Point, got the Ascendant of his Policy. The Aim the King had, was to carry on a Conformity in Matters of Religion between *England* and *Scotland*. Every Step he took, he met with great Opposition; however, he proceeded, made a liberal Provision for the Service of the Church. He help'd the Bishops very much, and greatly assisted the whole Body of the Clergy. Yet even this is imputed to him as a Demerit by some, who very falsely charge many of the most learned of those Bishops, to have been grossly inclin'd to Popery: But as they have only said, not prov'd what they said, all those who ever thought or pretended to think thus, must be always reckon'd by wise Men, to be either foolish and weak, or obstinate and filled

led with a Spirit of Contradiction: Such groundless Calumnies were never supported by any Men, but those who were suppos'd to labour either under a downright Absence, or else a thorough Perverseness of Understanding. —— After the *Gunpowder-Plot*, he was indeed more than a little alarm'd with Fears and Apprehensions, more especially, when his Minister, Sir *Dudley Caretan*, returning from his Embassy in *Spain*, told the King, then hunting at *Theobalds*, that he must either leave off that Way of Hunting, or desist from Priest-Hunting. The Prosecution against Popish Priests, ran high at that Time, and the King slacken'd it. But this could be said to have been done out of an Inclination to serve them, much less can any Body that loves the Truth, offer to put upon the World so gross an Imposition, or upon that Prince, so false and unsuitable a Character, as to conclude with Dr. *Burnet*, that from thence to his dying Day, he continu'd always writing and talking against Popery, and acting for it. The contrary of this is so far true, that upon his Death-Bed (the Time when he has a Right to be believ'd to have spoken his hearty and sincere Sentiments) he carefully advis'd the Prince, his Son (as is to be seen in the 1st Volume of *Rushworth*, pag. 15) *To love his Wife, but not her Religion.* Thus far therefore this injur'd Prince is clear'd from Dr. *Burnet's*

Burnet's Charge of Popery, so grossly and so groundlessly laid against him.

As to Prince *Henry's Death*, upon which Dr. *Burnet* makes such sinister Remarks, I chuse to answer that Article apart from the rest: It is observable, that there were indeed many Reports about that gallant young Man's having been made away by foul Play, and poison'd. But after all, says Dr. *Welwood* in his Memoirs, there is an Account in Print of what was more observable upon opening of Prince *Henry's Body*, under the Hand of Sir *Theodore Mayerne*, and five other Physicians; from which, there can be no Inference drawn, that he was poison'd. Whoever has a Mind to be farther satisfied in this Particular, let him have Recourse to the Appendix at the End of Dr. *Welwood's Memoirs*, N° 5, pag. 233, and he will wonder at what *Burnet* says, when he pretends in several Parts of his History, that he omits no Circumstance that may serve to clear Matters as much as possible.

But this pious Historian has not only been pleas'd to attack the Character of this Prince, with Regard to his Religion; he has likewise, to shew his own Wisdom, reflected very severely upon that Prince's Knowledge and Wisdom; and has done it in such indecent Terms, that are as little proper to be given to a King, as to be written by a Bishop. He scarce refrains

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from calling him a slothful and fearful Fool in plain *English*, and that too, in Cases, where what he alledges is entirely repugnant to the known Truth.

The Lord *Clarendon*, whose Judgment no Man can call in Question, without blemishing his own, takes many Opportunities of mentioning with Honour, the Wisdom of King *James I.* and frequently celebrates him for some of his other Virtues; which (as that noble Author says) King *Charles I.* inherited, as well as the same Zeal for Religion (meaning his Zeal for the Protestant Religion) which put both these Kings upon desiring to unite the three Kingdoms in one Form of God's Worship and publick Devotions.

And whereas King *James*, when he met with great Opposition in promoting Episcopacy in *Scotland*, is said by Dr. *Burnet*, pag. 10, to have gone no farther in his Designs, either through Sloth or Fear. The Lord *Clarendon*, in the 1st Volume of his History, pag. 82, says and asserts the direct contrary, in the following Words, justly ascribing that to King *James's* Wisdom, which *Burnet* injuriously attributes to his Inaction and Timidity. *The whole Scotch Nation*, (says that great Historian) seem'd in the Time of King *James*, well inclin'd to receive the Liturgy of the Church of England, which that King exceedingly desir'd, and was so confident of, that they who were privy to his Counsels

Counsels in that Time, did believe, the principal End of his Progress thither, some Years before his Death ; though he was not so well satisfied at his being there, two or three of the principal Persons trusted by him, in the Government of that Kingdom, dying in or about that very Time : But though he return'd without making any visible Attempt in that Affair, yet he retain'd still the Purpose and Resolution to his Death, to bring it to pass. However, his two or three last Years having been less pleasant to him, by the Prince's Voyage into Spain, the Jealousies, which about that Time, began in England, and the high Proceedings in Parliament there, he thought it necessary to suspend any Prosecution of that Design, until some more favourable Conjunction, which he liv'd not to see.

Bishop Burnet, who gives so little Quarter to the King in Affairs of State, is as great an Enemy to the then Bishops in their Government of the Church. He represents the Bishops, that were concern'd in carrying on the good Work of a Reformation, to have done their Part very ill. He describes them to have been generally either haughty in their Manners, and negligent in their Function ; Frequenters of the Court, and contemn'd by the People. He represents all that was carry'd on by the Bishops and Clergy in their general Assemblies for this pious End, to

have been perform'd by Fear or Corruption, and that no Practices were omitted in procuring the Elections of such Members of those Assemblies as would bring it about. He furthermore insinuates, that those few of the Clergy and Bishops, who were stricter and more learned, lean'd grossly to Popery. At the same Time, speaking of the Puritans of those Days, he proceeds thus, pag. 17. *The Puritans gain'd Credit as the King and the Bishops lost it. They put on external Appearances of great Strictness and Gravity ; they took more Pains in their Parishes, than those who adher'd to the Bishops, and were often preaching against the Vices of the Court ; for which they were sometimes punish'd, tho' very gently, which rais'd their Reputation, and drew Presents to them that made up their Sufferings abundantly.* He then tells us, *That his Great-Grandmother, Rachel Arnot, Daughter to Sir John Arnot, was most obsequiously courted by the Puritans, and reckon'd for many Years the chief Support of the Party, so that his Father, who marry'd Rachel Arnot's Granddaughter, saw a great Way into all the Methods of the Puritans.*

If the Mouth be suppos'd to speak out of the Abundance of the Heart, of which Side would a Man be naturally induc'd to believe such an Author as Dr. Burnet to be, on the Side of the Puritans, or on the Side of the Church of England ?

It is Time now to draw towards a Conclusion of this Prince's Reign, and compare what other Authors in general speak of his Character at his Death, with what Dr. Burnet says on him, on the same Occasion.

The Sentences of Dr. Burnet, fill'd with a Recapitulation of Invectives, are thus worded on this Monarch's Demise: *viz.* *It is certain, no King could die less lamented or less esteem'd than he was* — — — *His Reign in England was a continu'd Course of mean Practices.* — — — *King James was become the Scorn of the Age; and while hungry Writers flatter'd him out of Measure at Home, he was despis'd by all abroad, as a Pedant without true Judgment, Courage, or Steadiness, subject to his Favourites, and deliver'd up to the Counsels or rather the Corruptions of Spain.*

How different an Account from this, is given us of him by other Authors, who at the same Time they give his Virtues their Due, do not spare the Defects of that Prince! But my Busines is here to shew the Partiality of Dr. Burnet, who allows him no Perfections at all, but treats that crown'd Head with an unheard of Contempt, and delivers concerning him, Things that are not at all consonant with the Truth.

For Orleans. in his History of the Revolutions, of whom Eachard, at the Beginning of his Works, gives so good a Character,

racter, and many other foreign Writers, speaking of King *James I.* say, that he dy'd belov'd by his Subjects, lamented by Strangers, and commended by all the learned Men in *Europe*, as the Patron of Literature.

This is indeed true, that he rather had an Affection to Letters, than a true Taste of them ; but that may said to be owing to the false Relish of the Times in which he liv'd, and in which many Men, who pass'd then for very Learned, were guilty of the same Error in their Taste. But if he was not so extreamly learned, as to deserve the Title of the *Learned King*, yet we may thus far reasonably believe of him, what Archbishop *Spotswood* says of him in the last Page of his History, and that will be sufficient Evidence of his Piety and Knowledge, in Opposition to all that Dr. *Burnet* has said without any Foundation, but seeming Passion and Prejudice to the contrary. ' The Thursday preceding his Death, (says Archbishop *Spotswood*) he de-
 ' sir'd the Blessed Sacraument to be mini-
 ' ster'd unto him, which he receiv'd with
 ' great Devotion, professing to the Prince,
 ' his Son, and those that stood by, that he
 ' receiv'd a singular Comfort thereby, wishing
 ' all Men to do the like, when they were
 ' visited in that Sort. From that Time to
 ' the Hour of his Death, he was still al-
 ' ways praying, or some one Sentence or
 ' other

other of Piety ever in his Mouth.'—
The same Archbishop *Spotswood* proceeds on, and says, ' We that have had the Honour and Happiness many Times to hear him Discourse of the most weighty Matters, as well of Policy as Divinity, now that he is gone, must comfort ourselves with the Remembrance of these Excellencies, and reckon it not the least Part of our Happiness to have lived in his Days.' Many doleful Epitaphs in all Languages were composed to express the Sorrow conceived by his Death.

Here I must upon the whole Matter recapitulate. I own the Bishops were at that Time to blame in some of their Politicks, and that the King was certainly liable to several Defects in his Conduct on the one Hand; but then, that it must be confess'd on the other, that Bishop *Burnet* has used the whole Episcopal Church very ill, represented all their Prelates of those Days either as haughty Courtiers, or ignorant Men; as illiterate Obstimates, or Popish Inquisitors. But when he speaks of any of the Puritans, or Covenanters, he gloses over the worst Part of their Characters with something agreeable, and always brings in some specious Colour of Virtue, Reason and Wisdom, to justify their Conduct, and varnish o'er their Crimes. Whensoever he speaks of King *James*, he does not only magnify those Defects to which he was liable,

able, into enormous Crimes; but he turns and misconstrues even that Prince's Virtues into Vices, and lays that as a Foundation to proceed on to the History of his unfortunate Son, in which I am afraid we shall find him as partial (tho' for good Reasons with more Art and Caution) as he was in the Story of the Father.

His Way of opening the Beginning of the Troubles in *Scotland*, shews his Partiality abundantly, and sufficiently demonstrates what is to be expected from him in the Sequel of that History.

Burnet makes no Scruple of laying the Blame wholly upon the King and the Bishops, but does it after a Manner perfectly absurd and self-contradictory.

He tells us, P. 26, 'The Design of recovering the Tythes went on but slowly.—That a Liturgy and Body of Canons for the Worship and Government of the Church of *Scotland*, were framed by the Bishops of that Country.—These, continues he, were never examined in any publick Assembly of the Clergy: All was managed by three or four aspiring Bishops.—They were all so lifted up with the King's Zeal, and so encouraged by Archbishop *Laud*, that they lost all Temper.'

After having thus endeavour'd to accuse the King of intemperate Zeal in his Conduct, Dr. *Burnet* in the very next succeeding

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ing Paragraph says these Words; ' But the
 ' unaccountable Part of the King's Pro-
 ' ceedings, was, that all this while, when
 ' he was endeavouring to recover so great
 ' a Part of the Property of *Scotland*, as the
 ' Church Lands and Tythes were, from
 ' Men that were not like to part with
 ' them willingly, and was going to change
 ' the whole Constitution of that Church
 ' and Kingdom: He raised no Force to
 ' maintain what he was about to do, but
 ' trusted the whole Management to the
 ' Civil Execution.' — In a few Lines fur-
 ' ther, P. 27, the Bishop grows political,
 and says, ' A Troop of Horse, and a
 ' Regiment of Foot, had prevented all that
 ' followed, or rather had by all Appear-
 ' ance establish'd an arbitrary Government
 ' in that Kingdom.'

Here the Reader cannot but remark, that *Burnet*, who had but just now blamed the King for taking easie and civil Measures to settle Episcopacy in that Kingdom, and called even that intemperate Zeal, does in the same Breath, with a prodigious deal of good Temper of his own, endeavour to shew that Prince and his Ministers still more to blame, that they did not do it by Force, and by a military Power. — Yet in a few Lines after these again, he flatly affirms, ' That his Father, and those who ad-
 ' hered firmly to the King's Interest, were
 ' then much troubled at the whole Conduct

' of Affairs, as being neither wise, legal,
 ' nor just.' — But this Bishop does not tell
 us how far the Rise of these Troubles was
 owing to puritanical Fury: He does not o-
 pen to us how far their Proceedings were
 neither wise, legal, nor just; or else he
 might have told us with Truth, that the
Scots had not only frequently in a tumul-
 tuous Manner opposed the Liturgy, but
 that they afterwards assumed to themselves
 the Liberty and Power of holding a general
 Assembly of their Church, and in it to a-
 bolish Episcopacy, and do several other
 Things that were judged inconsistent with
 the Duty of Subjects, even so far, 'till they
 brought upon themselves the Titles of be-
 ing errand and downright Rebels. This
 the Bishop (who told us in former Pages,
 that he was acquainted with all the Mea-
 sures of the Puritans) might have inform-
 ed us of, if he pleased; and since he says
 likewise that he would omit and palliate
 no Circumstances to hide the Truth, ought
 certainly to have done; but then that
 would have hinder'd his own Argument,
 which he immediately after forms to lay
 the Blame upon the King's Ministry, and
 to free those that opposed the King from
 the Imputation of any Crime. ' I will go
 ' no further, says he, in opening the Be-
 ' ginning of the Troubles in *Scotland*.' —
 And then in a Line or two afterwards, he
 sets down this specious Argument, which

is certainly very rationally conclusive, and shews a down-right Spirit of Impartiality in the Arguer. ' The Violence, says he, ' with which that Kingdom did almost unanimously engage against the Administration, may easily convince one, that the Provocation must have been very great, to draw on such an entire and vehement Concurrence against it.' This Argument proves so much, that it proves just nothing. The same Form of Words may be used to pre-suppose a Provocation always given on the Side of every Prince, and to justify every Rebellion upon Earth, that any disquiet Number of People of any Nation shall carry on against the Crown: Nay an Independent might as well carry the same Argument against the sacred Person of that unfortunate Prince, by saying, the Violence, with which the most potent Parties of these Kingdoms did almost unanimously engage against the Person of King *Charles* the First, may easily convince one, that the Provocation must have been very great, to draw on such an entire and vehement Concurrence against him.

If it is possible for an Historian to be guilty of so many seeming Contradictions, false Arguments, Omissions, Inconsistencies, and Absurdities, in so few Pages, and yet be in the Right; sure Truth in the Management of some Hands must be a more

perplexing Labyrinth, than can be compounded out of Error and Falshood.

As we go on with this worthy Author, we shall find, that just as he opened to us this Historical Account, so he proceeds in the several Parts, into which he afterwards divides his Narration, with the same artful and powerful Way of perplexing the Ideas and Notions, that Readers of Works of this Nature would expect to have of Men and Things.

Throughout the Account of this whole Reign, he falls as foul upon King *Charles the First's* Character, as any who opposed that Monarch in those Days would have done, and that in direct Opposition to Matters of Fact delivered to us concerning that Prince, by Historians of the greatest Weight and Authority.

The *Eikon Basiliæ*, written by that Prince, being a Book of that Sort, that it would be sufficient of itself, if allow'd to be his, to refute many of *Burnet's* Reflections, is artfully represented by Dr. *Burnet* (as far as he was capable of arguing the Point) to be none of his own. Father *Orleans* makes no Question of its being his, and in pag. 104, speaking of the King, he says, He employ'd himself in collecting and digesting his Thoughts into a Book, call'd *Eikon Basiliæ*, or the Portraiture of the King; where giving an Account of his Conduct, which had been variously judged of, he discovers

discovers such a Mind and such Notions, as will not allow of a double Meaning : Such is the Acuteness, the Learning, the Morality, and the Piety, according to that Prince's Religion, which appears throughout all that Work. Add to this, the following Account out of *Warwick's Memoirs*, pag. 68, and 69 : ' Though I cannot say I know that he wrote his *Icon Basiliæ* or Image, which goes under his own Name ; yet I can say, I have heard him, even unto my unworthy self, say many of those Things it contains ; and I have been assur'd by Mr. *Levet* (one of the Pages of his Bedchamber, and who was with him thro' all his Imprisonments) that he hath not only seen the Manuscript of that Book among his Majesty's Papers at the *Isle of Wight*, but read many of the Chapters himself ; and Mr. *Herbert*, who by the Appointment of Parliament attended him, says, he saw the Manuscript in the King's Hand, as he believed ; but it was in a running Character, and not that which the King usually wrote.

In pag. 47, where he was to speak of him as a Soldier, *Burnet* diminishes the King in that Part of his Character, by saying, He minded little Things too much, and was more concern'd in the drawing of a Paper, than in fighting a Battle.

By

By that Bishop's Leave, the Papers that he drew, were not so insignificant as he represents them. In Dr. *Welwood's* Memoirs, pag. 71, we are inspir'd with a very different Notion of this King's masterly Talents and Perfections in that Way : ' He (says that ingenious Physician) spoke several Languages very well, and with a singular good Grace ; tho' now and then, when he was warm in Discourse, he was inclinable to stammer. He writ a tolerable Hand for a King ; but his Sense was strong, and his Stile *Laconick*, and yet he seldom wrote in any Language but *English*. Some of his Manifesto's, Declarations, and other publick Papers, he drew himself, and most of them he corrected. In comparing those of the King with the Parliament's, one would be easily inclined to prefer, for the most part, the King's, for the Strength of Reasoning, and the Force of Expression. I have seen several Pieces of his own Hand, and therefore may the better affirm, that, both for Matter and Form, they surpass those of his ablest Ministers, and come nothing short of *Strafford* and *Falkland*, the two most celebrated Pens of that Time.

But his being a good Writer, did not at all hinder him from being intent on his Battles, when he was engaged in them, notwithstanding that vile Sneer of *Burnet's*,
where

where he says, He minded the drawing of a Paper, more than fighting a Battle : Vile Insinuation ! he fought as well as he could write. Why does he thus turn every Calamity upon a Want of Wisdom in the King, and load him with Defects that were notoriously not his own, but the wretched Effects of mere ill Fortune. Why does he run up the first Causes of all these Troubles to a wrong Source, a false Original, and represent the King's Counsels as the Occasions of them all ? Why does he so slenderly expose to View the Barbarities of the Puritans, that brought their King to such an End ? He tells us, that he was let into the Knowledge of all their Practices, being himself descended from a rich Woman that was counted their main Support ; Why then does he omit placing them in their proper Colours, unless he had a tender Kindness for that Puritan Alliance, that prevail'd over all the Advantages which such copious Informations might have yielded to the curious World ?

I make it my Remark, that the King's most heroic Followers, his best and most bosom Friends, Counsellors, and Chaplains, meet with the same Treatment from him.

Montroſſ, that with a Handful of Troops, made himself Master of *Scotland* ; is represented as a vain Boaster, a weak Commander, and his very Successes are artfully placed

placed in such a Light, as to seem the immediate Causes of the King's Ruin.

However, a little afterwards, he represents the Marquis of *Montroſſ* as grown considerable, and as having got Ground all over *Scotland*; and yet, but a little before, he excuses the *Hamiltons*, upon Complaints that were made of their Treachery; praises the Duke of that Name, for his Wisdom of not engaging in *Montroſſ*'s Undertakings; and yet is foſted to own, that in his Method of departing from them, the Duke did not use a very ſincere Way of Proceeding. Dr. *Burnet* had Reafons for excusing the *Hamiltons* upon many Accounts, which appear in ſeveral Parts of the Sequel of his History. It is certain these Great Men were generally ſuspected of Treachery at that Time; and certainly the faireſt Way of arguing had been to have ſaid, that *Montroſſ*'s Successes, ſince they were ſo great of themſelves, would have been rivited in Favour of the King, if the *Hamiltons* had joined heartily, as they ought to have done, on their Parts. For if *Montroſſ* could do all of himſelf that *Burnet* ſays, what might he not have accompliſ'd, if his Actions had been accompany'd with the ſincere Endeavours of the *Hamiltons*? The Way which *Burnet* takes, is by no Means allowable, where he viſibly lessens *Montroſſ*, and takes no other Methods of clearing *Hamilton*, than by ſaying,

his

his Way of Proceeding, tho' it was not sincere, was intended for the King's Service. And that Historian does as falsely blame the King, for not yielding to Terms; and going on with the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, when he had Reason to hope that his Affairs would mend, and that he might afterwards treat upon better Terms, especially since the Marquis of *Montrose* had already been so successful, and made such a Progress with his Arms the next Year, that after his last Victory at *Kilsyth*, he might probably, (if the *Hamiltons*, to wipe off the Suspicion of Treachery, had assisted him) have been Master of all *Scotland*, and fix'd his Conquests. But here, to use the Doctor's own Words upon another Person, I must say, that he has been very dexterous, if not too dexterous, and his Sincerity must be very much question'd in his Way of working up this Story to the Disadvantage of the King.

In all other Cases, where the King's Disappointments render'd it unhappy for him, that he did not make Concessions sooner; he lays that to the Prince's want of Judgment, that was entirely owing to cross and unforeseen Accidents, and future Events, against which, no human Prudence could, in those Circumstances, provide.

We will now take a View of that unfortunate Prince at *Oxford*, and see how prudently the King behav'd in that desperate

rate Condition, when that City was invested. His Majesty, after having again and again attempted in Vain some Accommodation with the Parliament, offering all in general that his Misfortunes would allow his Honour and Conscience to grant, and assuring them (that as to Particulars) he would settle them all in such Manner with them, that they should have no Cause to complain ; and pressing them to admit him to pass, whatsoever well-meaning Men should think necessary towards a Peace. The Parliament, however, were so far from giving Ear to him, as to let him know he must expect to be confin'd, if he attempted to repair to *London*, and publick Proclamation was made for all Officers to secure him, if he were found upon the Way.

The Parliament having thus rejected that Prince's honest Proposals, his Majesty plainly saw, that *Oxford* could still hold out ; but there being no Relief to be expected, whatsoever Resolution were shewn, it must of Necessity fall into the Hands of the Oppressors. Here his Majesty was to have Recourse to his own Prudence, to gain his Person that Preservation, which the ill Fortune of his Arms had deny'd him ; and with which, the Councils of his wifest Friends were unable to supply him. That prudent Monarch, being still persuaded that a Return of his People to him, might

be reasonably expected from the Divisions, which daily encreas'd between the Presbyterians and the Independants ; he is said with great Magnanimity, to have offer'd the Army to put himself into their Hands, and to have receiv'd no better Answer from them, than he had done from the Parliament.

It is highly probable, that the Independents were very apprehensive, that such might be the Consequence if the King went to *London* ; for *Cormwell*, who had an Eye every where, went away to *London*, on Purpose to obstruct the King's being receiv'd there.

As to the Answer given his Majesty by the Army, there is no Question, but that they having resolv'd to destroy him, were for taking of him in Arms, that so he might be render'd the more odious to the People, and the more plausibly charg'd with those Crimes, that were to serve for a Pretence, to colour the Paricide they were contriving.

This unfortunate Monarch being thus rejected on all Sides, must surely have been arm'd with singular Prudence, that he could have Presence of Mind enough to meditate his Escape, and Conduct enough to make it ; where, if the most solemn Promises and Engagements of Men could have ever been rely'd on, he might have assur'd himself that the Security of his Person would have been the Consequence of

his Escape, provided he should be able to make it.

His very Servants were kept ignorant of his Resolution, and were only inform'd by the Event; he had vanish'd on a sudden, disguising himself at Night, after committing the Secret to *Ashburnham*, a trusty Servant, and one *Hudson*, a Minister, whom he took along with him. The News of his Escape being spread abroad in the Town and Country about; came quickly to the Army that was drawing near *Oxford*, and then soon reach'd the Parliament. Every Man gues'd according to his own Fancy, at the End and Design of such a mysterious Escape, 'till it appear'd that his Majesty was fled, to put himself upon the *Scots*, who still lay at the Siege of *Newark*.

For the better Understanding this Point; it is to be observ'd, that the King's withdrawing himself to the *Scot's* Army, was not, as some would have it, entirely the Effect of Despair; but there was a great deal of Foresight in it. There are Authentic Memoirs, that prove the *Scots* first propos'd his coming to them, and sent Sir — *Murray* into *France*, to treat with the King the more safely by the Interposition of that Crown. The King was at first loth to trust them; but *Montreville*, the *French* Envoy in the *Scots* Army, had brought the Matter to bear just before the

King

King resolv'd to retire to it. Of all the Things thy had promis'd *Montreville* in Favour of that Prince, one was, that they would not deliver him up to the Parliament of *England*, unless upon a good and solid Peace.

The Account of the King's Escape, and of his being among the *Scots*, when brought to *London*, surpriz'd the Parliament the more in Regard the two Nations began not to agree so well as they had done. The *Scots* put too high a Value upon those Services, the *English* thought they stood no longer in Need of ; they grew rich in *England*, and kept Possession of the Places they took, which was an open Breach of the Treaty. The favourable Reception given the King, and that Prince's going away with them to *Newcastle*, had made the Breach the wider, and their Minds seem'd to be quite alienated. However these Beginnings being manag'd by Complaints, Remonstrances, mutual Protestations of adhering to the Conditions of the League and Covenant, &c. The Negotiations between the two Nations, held long enough before their Animosities broke out, to gain the *English* Time enough to reduce all the Places, that still held out for the King. For it was only towards their Sovereign, that this Parliament, or rather this Cabal us'd no Moderation. As soon as ever it was known that he was fled to the *Scots*, publick

publick Declaration was made, that he was ill inclin'd to Peace, and intended to heighten the Animosities between the two Nations, to enable himself to carry on the War.

Whilst the Parliament contriv'd to destroy him with the Pen, the Army went to stripping him with the Sword.

Oxford was besieg'd, and tho' it could hold out long, capitulated, and obtain'd honourable Conditions, and all other (the King's) strong Places were surrender'd. They had Orders so to do; the King being willing to undeceive the People, as to what the Parliament had given out against him, that he was averse to Peace. His Majesty (perswaded that the *Scots* would be sincere, to whom he had at first caus'd *Newark* to be surrendered) oblig'd all Men and Towns, that still fought for him, to lay down their Arms; and the strong Holds which still held out in *England*, to submit to the Parliament. Mean while all Things, likewise, appear'd to tend to a Peace between the two contending Nations. After the Surrender of *Oxford*, *Banbury*, *Caln*, *Worcester*, *Woodstock*, *Ragland*, *Ludlow*, *Litchfield*, *Denbig* and *Pendennis*, all surrender'd.

All the small Remains of the Royal Party, in every Corner of the Kindom, vanish'd upon the Loss of these Places. Justice had not so intirely abandon'd the whole Nation, but that there were still some conscientious

conscientious Persons who offer'd up their Prayers for the King, but as it was in private; such good Wishes were punish'd as High Treason. It had been hop'd, the *Scots* would do more than offer up Vows; but those Hopes vanish'd, when *Cromwel's* Cabal had inspir'd the Parliament to dazzle their Eyes with that Metal which encourages the committing of the greatest Crimes. After many Negotiations, many Contests, and many Journeys backward and forward, which seem'd daily to threaten an open Rupture between the two Nations, the Parliament was advis'd to offer the *Scots* a considerable Sum of Money (says a *French* Historian from whom I take several Extracts) under Colour of requiting their Services, but in Reality, to buy the King out of their Hands.

It is amazing that Dr. *Burnet*, if he had not been partial, should not have gone thro' with this Story, since he says, the Love he has for *Scotland*, has made him frequently dwell longer upon the Affairs of that Country, which he pretends to have known thoroughly well. But may be, his Love to his Country might be pleaded in his Excuse that he did not do it. Nothing less, for if he had been a Lover of those Loyalists in *Scotland*, that stood hearty for the King, and an Ahorror of those Covenanters that had his Uncle *Warristoun* for one of their Chiefs upon almost all Occasions;

he

he might have told the Story with a very good Grace, and not have at all offended the brave, the loyal, and the noble Spirits, that dwelt in the Bosoms of the Majority of People who liv'd in that gallant Kingdom, and without offending any of their great and generous Posterity. I shall therefore proceed and take the Account from a *French* Historian, who has done it in that just and handsome Manner.

The Conclusion of that Treaty, or rather of that infamous Bargain, gave the *Scots*, or rather their Army, fresh Trouble; for it is not reasonable to charge a whole Nation with the Actions of a few selfish Forces. They were sensible that in selling their King, they had sold their Reputation, and that all *Europe* would abhor so vile an Action: But besides the Shame of such an infamous Bargain, they could not avoid the Confusion of breaking their Words so often engag'd to that Prince in a private Treaty they had with him; wherein, to their greater Disgrace, the Minister of *France* had been concern'd with them. Besides, they were still answerable to *France* for having made Use of its Minister to draw the King into a Snare. They knew that the President *Bellierre*, appointed by the Queen Regent, Ambassador Extraordinary, to make the last Effort for the King of *England*, was actually charg'd to complain

of

of that Wrong, and express his Resentment. The *Scots* were sensible they had no other Way to shift off this Trouble, but by settling an honourable Peace between the King and his Parliament. They had already attempted, and prevail'd with that Assembly to propose some Articles ; not questioning but that the Presbyterians, who were for restoring the King, would offer some reasonable Terms, and that the King, who had no other Remedy left him, would be necessitated to condescend to any such. The Project was good ; but the Independents, in Spite of all the Presbyterians could do to mollifie the Articles, offer'd only such as he could not agree to, without unhinging himself, and absolutely subverting and abolishing the Hierarchy and Episcopacy of the Church. Mean while, *Bellierre*, the *French* Ambassador, interpos'd with the *English* Parliament, but in vain. *Bellierre* then went to the *Scots*, and try'd all the Powers of Argument and Eloquence, but in vain there likewise. He then chang'd Sides, and besought the King to satisfy his Parliament particularly as to the Point of suppressing the Bishops. The King would rather hazard his Crown and Dignity, than consent to this, and so became a Martyr for Episcopacy. This, we may say, was the only Point which decided the Fate of that unfortunate Prince. For now the *Scots*, according to their Bargain, deliver'd up the

unhappy King to the Parliament Deputies, who conducted him under a strong Guard, to *Holmby*, one of his own Houses ; from whence, I cannot bear to follow him thro' all the Insults and Hardships he suffer'd 'till he was brought to the Scaffold, long before design'd for him, as appears by what Bishop *Burnet* says, that talking of the King's Death with the Covenanters, he got the better of the Argument, according to their own Way of reasoning : But here I must remark how unhandsome the following Character given by a Bishop of the Church of *England*, suits a Prince that dy'd for its Episcopacy. His Words are these, He was out of Measure set on following his own Humour ; he had a firm Aversion to Popery, but was much enclin'd to a middle Way between Protestants and Papists, by which he lost the one without gaining the other. He had too high a Notion of the Regal Power, and thought that every Opposition to it was Rebellion. His Reign, both in Peace and War, was a continual Series of Errors ; so that it does not appear that he had a true Judgment of Things. — Could a Presbyterian have said worse of him ? Methinks 'tis Scandal to us, to hear a *French* Jesuit, Father *Orleans*, speaking of a Protestant Prince in this juster Manner.

King *Charles* the First's Enemies have given out, that a Prince who had been more politick,

politick, less govern'd by others, of a more uniform Conduct, not so easy or so positive out of Season, and more ready in coming to a Resolution, would have surmount'd all those Difficulties. I rather believe it may be said, he had overcome them, had he been more fortunate, and that he was one of those whose Reputation depends on their Success ; as he had Faults, so he had Qualities that corrected them ; and as he committed Oversight, so he did other Things, which would have more than made amends for them, had not Fortune, which favour'd him on several Occasions, always forsaken him, when Actions were decisive. It cannot be deny'd but that he had Sense, Courage, and Virtue. That brisk Way of his, of making War, when he commanded himself, and was fully resolv'd upon it ; the several Battles he fought in Person, the Victories he obtain'd, are Demonstrations that he understood the Trade, though he did not love it. When he had more than once reduc'd his Enemies to Extremity, another Victory would have made him absolute. But this Height of good Fortune ever fail'd him, whatsoever he could do to attain it. Had it fallen to his Lot, he would never have been charg'd with having brought upon himself a War, which he endeavour'd to avoid, nor with endeavouring to avoid it, when it was become absolutely necessary. He would rather have been commended for

managing of it well; and had the Successes been prosperous, all Men would have forgot, that perhaps it had been indiscreet in the Original, and too slow in the Beginning.—Thus far a *French* Jesuit, in the Behalf of this Prince; tho' of that Order, that is said to be most for destroying Protestant Kings.

But *Burnet*, I am sorry to say it, a Bishop of the Church of *England*, quite contrary to this Way of Speaking of an unprosperous King and Heroe, endeavours to add to his Calamity, by reviling Majesty amidst its Woes, and representing that wise Prince as the whole weak Author of his own mighty Ruins; and he does this ungenerous Act in such a Manner, as if he had a Mind to pay a Complement at the same Time to the prosperous Vice of the Usurper; and tho' he just owns him to be vicious, he appears to be willing, notwithstanding, to worship him for the mere Sake of his Prosperity. The whole Part of his History before the Restoration, is not so properly to be call'd a History, as an inveterate Satyr upon distress'd Virtue in the Person of a murder'd King, and a Train of unsuccessful and dying Heroes; and at the same Time, a Panegyrick upon triumphant Villany in the Person of the Usurper, and his blood thirsty, treacherous, rapacious, but victorious Adherents.

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I must, before I enter upon that adorn'd Character which the Bishop *Burnet* gives to *Oliver*, remark upon what he says of that great Councillor to *Charles the First*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and of the Chaplain that assisted his Majesty in his last dying Moments, Bishop *Fuxon*.

As to the first, he says, *P. 49*, ' That the Earl of *Strafford's* Death made all his former Errors be forgotten. It raised his Character, and cast a lasting Odium on that Way of proceeding; whereas he had sunk in his Credit by any Censure lower than Death, and had been little pity'd if not justly punished.'

How base is this of a Man, of whom this is his true Character, if a Saint may be thought to speak Truth! That Earl was an able Man, of a singular Resolution.

The King himself has left us the best Portraiture of him in the Book where he gives us his own. There that Prince represents him as a Genius of the first Rank, whose wonderful Capacity (so the King expresses himself) might rather make a Prince afraid, than ashame'd to employ him in the greatest Affairs, he being furnish'd with such sublime Qualities, as make those to dare, and to perform much, whose Projects are attended with Success, and whose Merit is favour'd by Fortune.

The King, as he had given him this Character, had a Mind to save him from the Sentence

Sentence of Death pronounc'd against him in Parliament, and declined signing it as much as he could. Some Judges, and even Bishops urged him to it, declaring he might lawfully do it: Yet *Burnet* finds fault with the King only, not with those Judges and Bishops. On the contrary, there was but one Bishop that opposed it strenuously, that is to say, Bishop *Fuxon*; and him *Burnet* finds fault with, when he assisted the King himself at his Death, calling him an honest Performer of his Function, but unfit for it, a dry and insipid Priest. By *Burnet's* Leave, *Fuxon* was no such insipid Priest in *Strafford's* Case, he gain'd a Reputation which ought to be render'd immortal in History, by always advising that Prince to follow the Dictates of his Conscience, which was averse to the signing any Sentence whatsoever that he thought unjust.

We come now to the Person that *Burnet* makes his chief Hero, and that shines foremost in this Volume of his History. He indeed just mentions his Hypocrisy and his Treachery, but touches so lightly upon them, considering to what an enormous Degree those Crimes were carried by that Tyrant, as if he seemed desirous that those Transgressions might be passed over as pardonable by the Reader; and as if he had a Desire, as far as he was able, to blot out his Iniquities, that he might the better afterwards manage that Panegyrick, which he

he had a Design of forming upon his future Exploits.

To speak with as much Temper as an honest Man can have on such an Occasion, if the Life of *Oliver* had been stained with the Guilt of Crimes that were of a lower Degree, than those monstrous and unparalleled Villanies that he committed, there are perhaps some Acts of his Life that might have been mention'd with Applause by just Historians. But the Bounds of History are never to be stretched so far, that a Man should be celebrated in it, upon any Account as a great Man, who was upon all Accounts the greatest Villain of all Mankind.

Were I in private Life to be told a Story of a Ruffian, who laid wait for the Life of a Great Man, (who had many Servants round about him to protect his Person) and did at last by many Stratagems, many Devices, by bribing some of the Servants, and a great many other false Measures, compass the Death of the Great Man he aimed at; and were the Son of the murdered Person to relate the Story, and should he, making slight of the Murder of his Father, run out only in his Narration upon the Wisdom, Cunning, and Bravery, of the Murderer, I should look upon the Son to be more unnatural, than he who perpetrated the bloody Deed.

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A King is the Father of his Country, and there was no King who deserved that Appellation in a greater Degree than *Charles the First*. He lost his Life by endeavouring to protect the Laws of the Kingdom against the Infringers of all Laws both divine and humane, by endeavouring to support the Liberty and Property of the Subject, which is never better maintained than under a good, pious, and lawful Prince, against Slavery and arbitrary Persecution, which was designed to be brought upon them, (and never could be carried to a greater Height) by a Tyrant and Usurper. He fought for the Religion and the Altars of his Country, and fell a bloody Sacrifice and Victim for Religion and Episcopacy, by the Hands of a Ruffian, who had a diabolical Disposition to rise up with inveterate and hellish Malice, in Opposition to every Thing that was either humane, moral or divine.

Now, for a *Briton*, while he is writing the History of his murder'd King, the Father of *Britain*, and relating to us the Story of his Murderer; for a Son of the Church of *England*, while he is giving us an Account of the Person who dy'd a Royal Martyr in the Defence of that Church, and at the same Time delivering to us the Practices by which his Persecutor brought him to his Martyrdom; for such an Author, I say, to speak coldly in the

the Defence of his Royal Master, nay, even to affront his Character, and to extenuate his good Name ; and at the same Time, to deliver himself with great Care and Caution, concerning the Villany of him, who wrought this bloody Tragedy ; and even afterwards to transport himself, when he is painting the Resolution, the Conduct, the Bravery, the Power, of such a successfull Tyrant, is a Crime that must want a Name ; 'tis turning an Historian into a Parricide ; and doing that upon the better Part of Majesty, that is to say, upon the Royal Fame and Reputation, by the Force of the Pen, which *Oliver* had done before, upon the Person of a King, by the Force of the Sword.

If there ever liv'd a Person, who, when he had it in his Power, acted with Tyrannical and Arbitrary Sway over those whom he had lawlesly brought to be his Inferiors, that were by Birth, and the Laws of this Realm, his Superiors ; over those whom by Force he reduced to be his Subjects and Slaves, that were born to be his Lords and Masters ; *Oliver* was that Man : And yet the pious and the just Dr. *Burnet*, who had long since told us, that King *Charles* the First disliked all moderate Councils, employs near a Page in Praise of *Oliver*'s good Temper this Way, and is immoderately zealous in representing to his Readers, the Virtue of *Oliver*'s Moderation in his Go-

H vernment,

vernment, who (he says, pag. 79.) study'd to seek out able and honest Men, and to employ them. And this wise Historian would not be contented with dilating upon this Subject, without giving us *Oliver's* good Inclinations to promote *Burnet's* own Father, for the Sake of his singular Piety and Integrity, tho' *Oliver*, forsooth, is said to have known him to have been a Royalist, as a most illustrious Example, of what must indeed be owned to be a singular, and I believe before unheard of, Kind of Moderation.

His publick Spirit and Magnanimity, the one of which, made him belov'd at Home, while the other render'd him the Terror of all the Nations abroad, are the next glaring Parts of his Character, which *Burnet* sets forth in two Pages together, more with the Insinuation of Rhetorick, than the Truth of History: And yet, when he spoke of *Charles* the First, he had said of him, that his Reign, both in Peace and War, was a continual Series of Errors, so that it does not appear that he had a true Judgment of Things.

Neither does he think it sufficient to sacrifice King *Charles* the First's Reputation to the Fame of *Oliver*, this darling Character in his History, but his Son King *Charles* the Second, must be meanly represented too, that he may heighten the

Blaze

Blaze of Oliver's Glory. He tells us for this End, in pag. 81, that in a Discourse held between *Borel* the Dutch Embassador, and King *Charles* the Second, the King represent'd to that Minister, that the *Dutch* entertain'd his Enemies against his Will ; and yet in *Oliver's* Time they had, in a very different Manner used both himself and his Brother. *Borel* (says *Burnet*) in great Simplicity answer'd, *Ha ! Sire, c'estoit un autre chose : Cromwel estoit un grand Homme, & il se faisoit craindre, & par terre, & par mer.* The King's Answer was, *Je me feray craindre aussy à mon tour.* And then *Burnet* adds, *But he was scarce as good as his Word.* It is hard to say, whether the boorish Brutality was more remarkable in the *Dutchman*, or the Falshood with which *Burnet* asserts, that the King was not as good as his Word, is more surprising in a Bishop that pretends to write History. Who was more dreaded by the *Dutch* than *Charles* the Second ? And did not the Duke of *York* his Brother, whom they had likewise treated ill when among them, make the Seas blush red with their Shame, and their Defeats, and the Theatre of *English* Victory ? But this monstrous Way of placing Things true or false in History, seems in this Place to be done as it were on Purpose, to paint an Usurper making a more eminent Figure, as he stands represent'd to our View, between two lawful Kings,

and overlooking them both with a kind of superior State.

There is one Thing more, that I must remark, before I leave this Character. *Burnet* had slightly touch'd at first, where it could not be avoided ; upon *Oliver's* Dissimulation, Treachery and Hypocrify, and as if he fear'd these, tho' so gently mention'd, should make too deep an Impression in the Minds of his Readers to *Oliver's* Disadvantage : He bethinks himself of some healing Methods in the Course of his History, to embalm, if possible, this Part of his Character from rotting, and to preserve it entire. He spends almost two entire Pages in praising *Oliver's* Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and gives signal Instances of his Goodness and Power in protecting it abroad ; in which Relation, he again takes an Opportunity of raising the Esteem of *Oliver*, by depreciating King *Charles* the Second. He then goes on to lay before us a great Design for the Interest of the Protestant Religion, that *Cromwel* had design'd to begin his Kingship with, if he had assumed it. And upon this Head, Dr. *Burnet*, after having told the Design, concludes with these Words, ' I, says he, ' thought it was not fit to let such a Pro- ' ject as this be quite lost : It was certainly ' a noble One.' Thus this Arch-Hypocrite is in a Manner proposed as an Example for succeeding Princes to imitate in Great Designs

Designs, for the Interest of the Protestant Religion.

After having thus artfully wip'd away his Vices, and out of all Measure, exaggerated his Exploits, he brings him to a slight Sickness, an easy Death, and lays him quietly in the Grave, as if no remarkable Disturbance had at that Time ever happen'd. I do not know how gentle his Agony might have been, but all Nature seem'd in a Bustle at his Death. There was such a Rage in the Element, that his turbulent Spirit seem'd to be carry'd away in a Whirlwind from the Earth, which he had laid waste and desolate, which he made an *Acelandia* drunk with the Blood of a pious Prince, and his most loyal Nobles ; and render'd a perfect barren Desart, for those who escaped with their Lives, and dared to continue virtuous, to rove and wander about in, without the common Benefits of Life, or the Privileges of Society.

We will now accompany our Historian, and see what he says of that great Instrument of the Restoration, General *Monk* ; and we shall there find him shewing the Power of an artful Writer in the greatest Extent ; and that as he had the Abilities of raising or rather creating such a Superstructure of Praise, as he had done to *Oliver*, upon no Bottom at all ; so he has an equal Dexterity at pulling down Merit, let it be as great and as high as it will, and

and built upon never so strong and solid a Foundation.

Speaking of this truly great and loyal Hero, who in almost all the authentick Histories, that speak of his Days, is plac'd as a Pattern and an Example of Loyalty to all succeeding Times, is treated by Dr. *Burnet*, after the following Manner.

Without shewing the least Foundation for what he insinuates ; he says thus in Order to diminish the Fame of *Monk's* Integrity in the Eyes of the World, pag. 84. ‘ Some have thought that he (*Monk*) intended to try, if it was possible to set up for himself ; others believ'd, that he had no settle Design any Way, and resolv'd to do as Occasion should be offer'd to him.

In pag. 87, he allows the Army (which was under *Monk's* Command) was manag'd with great Skill and Diligence, and that it was owing to such Conduct, that the great Affair of the Restoration, was brought about without blood-shed, beyond what any Body could expect, hope, or even imagine ; and yet he then concludes with this groundless Observation ; that *Monk* had both the Praise and Reward of all this, tho' (says Dr. *Burnet*) I have been told a very small Share of it did belong to him.

There follow three or four more very gross Slanders, worse if possible, than those already mention'd, and upon as little Grounds, and as frivolous Suggestions.

Next,

Next, to having been guilty of bespattering the unquestion'd Reputation of this good and great Man, would be the Guilt of endeavouring to clear a Character, that stands so unblemish'd in so many Histories, from Calumnies that can never be able to affect it. It is needless to give an Account of a great Man, whose Life by it self adorns a large Volume, that was lately publish'd concerning him to the World; and therefore leaving this Subject, I leave *Monk* in the unquestion'd and untroubled Possession of all his Glory; and *Burnet* to that Shame, which is the Potion of those, who endeavour to diminish exalted Merit.

One would imagine the Restoration might have brought the Doctor, to become something more like a Royalist, and have abated that too great Abundance of Zeal, which he on all Occasions shews for the Puritans.

But the Reader will be left able to Judge of the Author's unchang'd and fix'd Principles in Church and State, his Aversion to the Royal Cause, and of the Credit due to his History, from the Account he gives of himself, and of the principal Persons concern'd on both Sides, in several Passages of it. In pag. 298, speaking of his writing the Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*; he owns that he conceal'd several Things relating to the King; that he left out several Passages that were in his Letters, in some whereof were too much Weakness, and

and in others too much Craft and Anger. In pag. 373, he says, that Duke *Lauderdale* had open'd some wicked Designs to him ; that he told those wicked Designs, and confesses he ought not to have done it, because they were the Effects of Confidence and Friendship. In pag. 155. He says, that at the Age of 19, he was let into the Secret of all Affairs in *Scotland* ; that the *Scotch* Ministry had such an Imagination of some Service he might do them, that they treated him with a very particular Freedom and Confidence.

After quoting these Passages of the Author's acknowledg'd Vanity, Partiality and Treachery ; the Reader surely will read with Caution, the Account he gives of the contending Parties in Church and State, during the Reign of *Charles the Second*. The Episcopal Party in *Scotland*, he represents as a Body of Men, that seem'd to have the Principles and Tempers of Inquisitors in them ; and that they had no Regard to Religion in any of their Proceedings ; that they had little Learning, less Piety, and no Sort of Discretion ; that they were mean and despicable in all Respects ; that they were the worst Preachers he ever heard ; that they were ignorant to a Reproach, and many of them openly vicious ; that they were a Disgrace to their Orders, and the sacred Functions, and were the Dregs and Refuse of the Northern Parts ; that those

of them who arose above Contempt or Scandal, were Men of such violent Tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised.

Thus he describes the Episcopilians, while at the same Time he characterizes the Presbyterians, as a grave, solemn Sort of People. That they had an Appearance that created Respect. That they were related to the chief Families in the Country, either by Blood or Marriage. That they had lived in so decent a Manner, that the Gentry paid great Respect to them. That they used to visit their Parishes much, and were so full of the Scriptures, and so ready at *extempore* Prayer, that from that they grew to practise *extempore* Sermons. That they lived in great Familiarity with their People, and used to pray, and to talk oft with them in Private. That it could hardly be imagined to what a Degree they were loved and reverenced by them. That they kept scandalous Persons under a severe Discipline. That these Things had a grave Appearance, and that their Faults and Defects were not so conspicuous.

From his Character of Churchmen, and Presbyterians in general in *Scotland*; let us take a View of the Character given by him, of one of the principal Churchmen, and one of the principal Dissenters in *England*. This he ushers in, by saying gravely, that he had taken the most Pains to be

well inform'd in, and therefore he offers it the Reader with Assurance, and on which, he hopes due Reflection will be made. Archbishop *Fuxon*, is the Man I mean, and the Account he gives of him, is as follows. At the Restoration, *Fuxon* the antientest and most eminent of the former Bishops, who had assisted the late King in his last Hours, was promoted to *Canterbury*, more out of Decency, than that he was then capable to fill that Post ; that he not only was then superanuated, but that he was never a great Divine ; that the King, tho' he treated him with outward Respect, yet had no great Regard for him.

This is the Account our Author gives of Archbishop *Fuxon*, while he treats *Baxter*, the Dissenter, as a Man of great Piety ; and that if he had not meddled in too many Things, he wou'd have been esteemed one of the most learned Men of the Age. That he had a very moving and pathetical Way of Writing, and was his whole Life long a Man of great Zeal and much Simplicity, and that there was a very great Submission paid him by the whole Party.

I have mentioned only these amongst a Multitude of other Instances that his Book abounds with, to shew his Inveteracy to the Church, and his Zeal for the Presbyterian Cause. I will trouble the Reader with an Instance or two to shew his Affection for the rebel Faction, and his Hatred and Aversion

version to those Princes that supported and cherished him.

There was no one Man so deeply concerned in the grand Rebellion, or had done so much Mischief to the Royal Cause, as Sir *Harry Vane*; the Manner of King *Charles* the First Death was entirely his own Contrivance, tho' he had too much Sense to appear upon the Stage to publick View. And yet of this Man, this prime Rebel, he says, That the putting him to Death was much blamed. That tho' he was for changing the Government, and deposing the King; yet he was against putting him to Death, and forcing the Parliament. That the great Opinion that was had of his Parts and Capacity, made the Court think it was necessary to put him out of the Way.

In *Scotland* he represents the Execution of his Uncle *Wavister* as a Reproach to the Goverment, because he was disorder'd both in Body and Mind; and yet our Author says, that at his Execution he was very serene, very chearful, and seemed fully satisfied with his Death. That he read a Speech of his own composing twice upon the Scaffold, wherein he justified all the Proceedings in the Covenant, and asserted his own Sincerity for the Good of his Country, and the Security of Religion.

After this Account that our Author hath given us of two of the prime Rebels in

England and Scotland, let us hear what he says of King *Charles* the Second, and the Duke of *York*.

As to King *Charles*, P. 612, ‘ He had great Vices, but scarce any Virtues to correct them.—He had an Appearance of Gentleness in his outward Deportment, but he seemed to have no Bowels nor Tenderness in his Nature, and in the End of his Life he became cruel. He was apt to forgive all Crimes, even Blood itself: yet he never forgave any Thing that was done against himself. When he saw young Men of Quality, who had something more than ordinary in them, he drew them about him, and set himself to corrupt them both in Religion and Morality; in which he proved so unaptly successful, that he left *England* much changed at his Death, from what he had found it at his Restoration.—He never read the Scriptures, nor laid Things together, further than to turn them to a Jest, or for some lively Expression.’ *Burnet* concludes this Character, and the Reign of *Car. 2.* with these Words, ‘ How ungrateful soever this Labour has proved to myself, and how unacceptable soever it may be to some, who are either obliged to remember him gratefully, or by the Engagements of Parties and Interest, are under other Biasses; yet I have gone through all that I knew relating to his Life

‘ Life and Reign, with that regard to Truth, and what I think may be instructive to Mankind, which became an impartial Writer of History, and one who believes that he must give an Account to God of what he writes, as well as of what he says and does.’

Part of the Character *Burnet* bestows upon the Duke of *York*, is as follows: ‘ The Duke of *Buckingham*, says he, gave me once a short, but severe Character of the two Brothers: I was the more severe, because it was true. The King, he said, could see Things if he would, and the Duke would see Things if he could. He had no true Judgment, and was soon determined by those whom he trusted; but he was obstinate against all other Advises. He was bred with high Notions of the Kingly Authority, and laid it down for a Maxim, that all who opposed the King were Rebels in their Hearts. He was perpetually in one Amour or other, without being very nice in his Choice.’ The following Character given of the same Persons by a very able and impartial Hand, that has presented the World with an excellent, and indeed incomparable Book, call’d a short View of the *English History*, demonstrates, what false Accounts the Dr. gives of Men and Things.

The Duke (says this ingenious Author) seem’d made in another Mold, and to be the

the Antipodes of his Brother in Temper and Disposition, *Charles* was loose, voluptuous, and too much a Libertine; *James* grave, severe, devout; and tho' he now and then fell into the same Disorders with his Brother, as to Women; these seem'd but transient Passions in him, which were constant Habits in the other. The King was kind to his Enemies, and forgetful of his Friends; by which false Politicks he endeavour'd to reclaim a Set of Men, whom no Obligations could make grateful, and neglected those whom no Injuries could hardly fill with Resentment: The Duke on the other Hand, was not only constant and just to his faithful Friends, but terrible to his Enemies, whom he always pur-su'd when they had Power to hurt him, and always forgave, when they lay at his Feet. The one seem'd to prefer his Ease and Quiet to his Reputation, and the other to sacrifice all Things to his Conscience; the King arm'd by any Means to succeed in his Wishes, while the Duke chose rather to deserve, than to possess good Fortune.

As to what *Burnet* has said of *Charles* the Second's never minding the Bible, but when he took something out of it, to turn that holy Book into Ridicule, we may be convinc'd of the Falshood of that, since he has been frequently known to exert the Wit with which God had bless'd him in Defence of

of the holy Writings, against the many learned Latitudinarians, and Libertine Wits: To give one Instance of this, 'K. Charles II. (says the ingenious Mr. Addison, late Secretary of State) ' when he was at *Windsor*, ' us'd to amuse himself with the Conversation of the famous *Vossius*, who was full ' of Stories relating to the Antiquity, the ' Learning and Manners of the *Chinese*, ' and at the same Time, a Freethinker in ' Points of Religion. The King, upon hearing him repeat some incredible Accounts ' of those Eastern People, turning to those ' who were about him, *This learned Divine*, said he, *is a very strange Man, he believes every thing but the Bible.*

As to the Reign of King *James* the Second, *Burnet* owns himself a prejudic'd Man; and if so little Credit can be given him in other Things, I should be scarce willing to believe a Syllable in this Part of his History, which he pretends to tell of his own Knowledge, unless as far as it is confirm'd by other Histories. I shall only in general say this, that he seems to take from him all Manner of Virtues after he grew a King, that he allow'd him to have when he was Duke of *Tork*; and therefore, to arm the Reader against those false Impressions, I shall give you his Character, from the aforemention'd Author of the *Short View*; after mentioning the Death of *Charles* the Second, he says thus: Against such a Loss, nothing could support,

port, but the Hopes and good Opinion of his illustrious Successor, the Duke of *York*, who came to the Crown with all imaginable Advantages; Reputation abroad, and the Esteem of his people at Home, contracted by a long Contemplation of so many Vertues, of which, this is an undeniable Proof, that he was not hardly more hated than esteem'd even by his Enemies themselves. Here we too much approach our own Times, to venture too near the Heels of Truth; but we must be very unjust to the Character of *James II.* if we deny him any one Quality to make a Prince considerable, and his Subjects happy; for he possess'd several Talents uncommon to Men reputed of greater Parts; he was a Commissioner in his Navy-Office, as well as Admiral on Board his Fleet, and Teller in his Exchequer; a Carpenter in his Docks and Yards, and Commissary, as well as General at the Head of his Armies: To that, we may venture to affirm, that he understood the mechanick Part of Government, better than any King of *England*.

If this Account given by the Author of the *Short View*, should by soime People, be counted a favourable one, generously given him out of Tenderness to his Misfortunes; let such Readers, at least, attend to what Mr. Secretary *Addison* has said of him: King *James the Second* (says he) try'd that Experiment (meaning of an avowed Popish Prince's

Prince's ruling a Protestant People) and tho' he was endow'd with many Royal Virtues, and might have made a Nation of Roman-Catholicks happy under his Administration ; yet the Grievances we suffer'd in his Reign, proceeded purely from his Religion. Thus far Mr. *Addison*. And it is therefore to be hoped, that all those Readers that are even prejudic'd against King *James*, will believe every Tittle, that is injurious to that unhappy Prince's good Name, in any Points that contradict this Character given by such an Authority as Mr. *Addison*'s, to be as great a Falshood, as any other that he has related in the other Parts of his History, or rather Legend ; and with this Precaution I leave the Reader to peruse the Accounts of that Reign by himself.

If any Body thinks I have spoken too warmly of Dr. *Burnet*, considering he is dead, that Person is desired to reflect, that nothing can be too harsh against a Man that so often calls Heaven to witness as to his Impartiality and Truth, when even the contrary is prov'd against him, even out of his own Mouth, and by many other Authorities : He is to reflect, that he design'd this a Posthumous Work, and therefore, if insincere, deserves eternal Reproach ; and that he seems to have gone into another World, with the same Spirit of Anger against many virtuous Men, that he practis'd when he liv'd.

F I N I S.



